

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 204558  
ORIGIN EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 /022 R

DRAFTED BY EA/VLC:TMCARNEY/FMLC  
APPROVED BY EA/VLC:JDROSENTHAL  
EA/P:MSMITH

-----081403Z 080064 /40

R 070253Z MAY 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS  
INFO AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

UNCLAS STATE 104558

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, US, VN

SUBJECT: US-VIETNAM RELATIONS: DEPT. SPOKESMAN'S REMARKS  
F-

1. FOLLOWING ARE VIETNAM EXCERPTS FROM THE NOON BRIEF-  
ING MAY 5.

QUESTION: DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE VOTE IN THE HOUSE  
YESTERDAY ON BARRING ANY NEGOTIATIONS ON AID TO HANOI?

ANSWER: WELL, BERNIE, WE'RE NOT PLANNING TO NEGOTIATE  
AID TO VIETNAM. AND AS THE SECRETARY SAID YESTERDAY WITH  
REGARD TO THE QUESTION ON REPARATIONS, WE ARE NOT PLANNING  
THAT EITHER, SO THE PROVISION WOULD SEEM TO BE UNNECESSARY.

QUESTION: YES, COULD I STAY ON VIETNAM? ON THE STATUS OF  
THE NEGOTIATIONS, IT IS A LITTLE UNCLEAR TO ME, BUT HAS  
THE UNITED STATES OFFERED TO HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH  
HANOI WITHOUT ANY PRE-CONDITIONS? AND HAS HANOI MADE WHAT  
THEY CALL "CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HEALING OF THE WAR" A PRE-  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 204558

CONDITION?

ANSWER: WELL, WE HAVE SAID THAT AS FAR AS WE'RE CONCERNED,  
THERE IS NOTHING TO BAR THE WAY. I THINK THE SECRETARY  
SAID YESTERDAY WITH REGARD TO PRE-CONDITIONS--

QUESTION: IN OTHER WORDS, THERE IS NOTHING TO BAR THE WAY  
EXCHANGING --

ANSWER: NO, TO NORMALIZATION. THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISH-

ING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, OF COURSE, IS GOING TO BE DISCUSSED FURTHER.

NOW, AS TO A PRE-CONDITION TO DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION ON EITHER SIDE, THE SECRETARY SAID YESTERDAY HE REALLY DIDN'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT WITH REGARD TO HOW THE VIETNAMESE VIEWED THE QUESTION OF AID. HE SIMPLY DECLINED TO OFFER AN OPINION ON THAT, SO I CAN'T REALLY GIVE YOU A CLEAR APPRECIATION OF THAT.

OUR POSITION, I THINK, WITH REGARD TO THE WHOLE MATTER OF AID AND THE HEALING OF THE WOUNDS OF WAR, ET CETERA, HAS BEEN MADE VERY CLEAR. WE ARE NOT GOING TO PAY ANY REPARATIONS, AND THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY HAVE STATED THAT WE DO NOT OWE ANY DEBT OF REPARATIONS NOR DO WE HAVE ANY OBLIGATION TO AID VIETNAM IN THAT SENSE.

QUESTION: FRED, I'M NOT SURE I UNDERSTAND THE DISTINCTION EVERYONE IS DRAWING BETWEEN NORMALIZATION AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. AS I UNDERSTOOD THE SECRETARY YESTERDAY, THE FORMER WOULD COME MORE EASILY THAN THE LATTER, AND I'M NOT SURE I UNDERSTAND WHY IT SHOULDN'T BE REVERSED. DO YOU--

ANSWER: THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF BOTH PARTIES, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT -- AND IT IS CERTAINLY OUR UNDERSTANDING -- IS TO SEE WHETHER OR NOT WE CAN FIND A BASIS FOR THE NORMALIZATION. UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 204558

TION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

QUESTION: THAT'S THE ULTIMATE GOAL?

ANSWER: THE ULTIMATE GOAL -- PRECISELY WHAT THE SECRETARY SAID YESTERDAY.

QUESTION: IS DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION AND AN EXCHANGE OF EMBASSIES, IS THAT A STEP TOWARD NORMALIZATION, OR IS IT NORMALIZATION?

QUESTION: OR IS IT BEYOND NORMALIZATION?

ANSWER: WELL, NORMALIZATION IS A PROCESS, AND I SUPPOSE THE ULTIMATE STATE WOULD BE AN EXCHANGE OF DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION.

QUESTION: BECAUSE THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE AID WAS A PRE-CONDITION BY VIETNAM TO NORMALIZATION AND THEN HE ADDED, "AS FOR RECOGNITION, I DON'T KNOW," SO --

ANSWER: THE QUESTION WAS, "AS A PRE-CONDITION TO NORMALIZATION ARE THE VIETNAMESE INSISTING ON THIS AID, DOES THAT

MEAN IT WOULD HAVE TO BE COMMITTED BEFORE?" AND THE SECRETARY REPLIED, "AS A PRE-CONDITION TO NORMALIZATION, I THINK THE ANSWER IS YES, FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW. IF YOUR QUESTION IS, AS A PRE-CONDITION TO DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION ON EITHER SIDE, I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT."

QUESTION: THAT SEEMS TO BE A LESSER STATE OF NIRVANA.

ANSWER: WELL, I THINK PERHAPS THE CENTRAL POINT IS, WE'RE GOING BACK FOR THE SECOND ROUND WITHIN TWO WEEKS AND WE'LL SEE HOW THE THING DEVELOPS.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 204558

I MEAN, OUR POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF AID I THINK IS VERY CLEAR.

QUESTION: IT COMES BACK TO MY FIRST QUESTION: ARE WE WILLING TO EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS WITHOUT ANY PRE-CONDITIONS? YOU SEEMED TO SAY, "YES THE FIRST GO-ROUND ON THIS.

ANSWER: WELL,--

QUESTION: YOU SAID THERE WAS NOTHING HOLDING IT UP FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW.

ANSWER: THIS WAS IN A GENERAL SENSE. THERE DOES NOT SEEM TO BE ANY MAJOR BAR AS FAR AS WE'RE CONCERNED. I MEAN THE PROCESS OF ACCOUNTING FOR THE M.I.A.'S IS GOING FORWARD SATISFACTORILY, AND FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, THE PROCESS IS MOVING. SO, FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, THERE SEEMS TO BE NO GREAT DIFFICULTY.

QUESTION: DOES THIS MEAN, THEN, THE PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED THAT THE VIETNAMESE ARE COOPERATING ADEQUATELY FOR US TO GO AHEAD AND ALLOW THEM INTO THE U.N. AND EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS IN LIGHT OF HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISES NOT TO DO THOSE THINGS UNTIL WE DID GET SATISFACTORY ACCOUNTING?

ANSWER: WE HAVE SAID THAT THE PROCESS OF ACCOUNTING FOR THE M.I.A.'S IS PROCEEDING SATISFACTORILY -- THAT IS, WE SAID THAT YESTERDAY. THERE IS PROGRESS ON THAT. NOW, THE EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS, THAT'S ANOTHER QUESTION. THERE YOU GET INTO DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION AND THE EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS, AND THAT IS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT.

QUESTION: SO, THE ADMINISTRATION POSITION, THEN, SEEMS TO BE DIFFERENT FROM WHAT THE CAMPAIGN POSITION WAS. WE NOW ACCEPT THE PROCESS AS BEING ALL THAT IS NECESSARY BEFORE WE ALLOW THEM INTO THE UN AND EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS INSTEAD OF

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 204558

A COMPLETE ACCOUNTING AS A FINISHED THING BEING NECESSARY,  
IS THAT CORRECT?

ANSWER: WE'VE SAID THAT THE PROCESS OF ACCOUNTING IS PRO-  
CEEDING SATISFACTORILY. WHEN THAT WILL BE BROUGHT TO THE  
POINT WHERE WE CONSIDER IT COMPLETELY SATISFACTORY, I  
CAN'T PREDICT. BUT THE RESULTS OF OUR TALKS, THE WOODCOCK  
COMMISSION AND THE TALKS THIS WEEK HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGING  
FROM THAT POINT OF VIEW.

QUESTION: DO I UNDERSTAND YOU TO BE SAYING THAT WE ARE  
WILLING TO GO AHEAD WITH THIS U.N. MEMBERSHIP AND EXCHANG-  
ING OF AMBASSADORS BEFORE WE REACH THAT POINT OF BEING  
COMPLETE THAT YOU JUST MENTIONED.

ANSWER: LOOK, I CAN'T TELL YOU STANDING HERE, WHEN THE  
THING IS GOING TO BE COMPLETE OR WHEN WE'RE GOING TO MAKE,  
WHEN THE THING WILL COME TO FULL FRUITION, HENRY.

QUESTION: BUT YOU ARE SAYING YOU ARE NOT GOING TO WAIT FOR  
THAT POINT BEFORE GOING AHEAD AND ALLOWING THEM IN THE U.N.  
AND EXCHANGE--

ANSWER: WE HAVE SAID THAT WE ARE WILLING TO SEE VIETNAM  
A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

QUESTION: SO, THIS IS A CHANGE FROM THE CAMPAIGN POSITION,  
THEN?

ANSWER: WELL, I'M NOT GOING TO GO BACK INTO THE CAMPAIGN.  
I THINK WHAT'S IMPORTANT IS THE RESULT OF THESE TWO DAYS  
OF MEETINGS IN PARIS.

QUESTION: IS HOLBROOKE COMING BACK HERE NOW?

ANSWER: YES, HE SHOULD BE BACK SOMETIME THIS AFTERNOON.  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 204558

QUESTION: AND HE WILL THEN GO AGAIN? IS HE EXPECTED TO  
LEAD THE DELEGATION FOR THE NEXT ROUND ALSO?

ANSWER: AS FAR AS I KNOW, HE WILL BE GOING BACK, AS THEY  
SAID YESTERDAY IN PARIS, WITHIN TWO WEEKS -- IN ABOUT TWO  
WEEKS.

QUESTION: DID MR. HOLBROOKE, IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, TELL  
THE VIETNAMESE THAT ONCE THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE OF EMBASSIES,  
THE TRADE EMBARGO WOULD BE LIFTED?

ANSWER: NO, THERE WAS NO KIND OF DEAL LIKE THAT.

QUESTION: "NO KIND OF DEAL LIKE THAT." WAS THERE SOME DISCUSSION OF THE TRADE EMBARGO, BECAUSE I NOTICED SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS AND AGENCIES HAD THE SAME FOREIGN SOURCE AS SAYING IT.

ANSWER: WELL, THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF THE GENERAL QUESTION OF NORMAL RELATIONS, AND THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS OBVIOUSLY ARISES. BUT IN TERMS OF MAKING ANY KIND OF COMMITMENT OR DEAL, ABSOLUTELY NOT.

QUESTION: BUT THE SUBJECT WAS DISCUSSED IN CONNECTION--

ANSWER: THE SUBJECT--

QUESTION: BERNIE'S QUESTION -- WAS THE SUBJECT OF THE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS DISCUSSED IN TERMS OF--

ANSWER: NO.

QUESTION: -- TRADE EMBARGO?

ANSWER: NO, ONLY THE GENERAL SUBJECT.  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 204558

QUESTION: SINCE WE HAVE NO TRADE EMBARGO AGAINST COUNTRIES WE HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH, THERE WOULDN'T BE AN EXTRAORDINARY CONCESSION.

ANSWER: THE QUESTION OF TRADE IS AN ASPECT OF NORMAL RELATIONS AND THAT WILL HAVE TO FOLLOW A MORE NORMAL STATE OF RELATIONS IN THE FUTURE. AND I THINK IT IS PREMATURE TO REALLY TALK ABOUT THAT AT THIS POINT.

QUESTION: WELL, WHETHER IT IS PREMATURE TO TALK ABOUT DOING IT NOW AT THIS POINT, IT IS CORRECT THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO REOPEN TRADE RELATIONS BEFORE AN EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS, ISN'T IT?

ANSWER: I SUPPOSE, THEORETICALLY, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE, BUT I THINK, AGAIN, THAT IS GOING BEYOND THE SCOPE OF THE DISCUSSIONS THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS, SO I REALLY CAN'T OFFER YOU ANY ENLIGHTENMENT ON WHEN THAT WOULD OCCUR. BUT THE QUESTION OF TRADE BECOMES REALLY IMPORTANT AFTER THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION HAS GONE FURTHER, AND I THINK IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO GIVE YOU ANY INDICATION THAT THAT IS IN THE OFFING.

QUESTION: AT THE RISK OF REPEATING THEN, DO I UNDERSTAND YOU TO SAY THAT WE ARE NOT LINKING THE DROPPING OF THE TRADE EMBARGO WITH ACTUALLY GETTING THE EMBASSIES OPEN?

ANSWER: WE ARE NOT LINKING ANYTHING. THERE IS NO KIND OF LINKAGE WITH REGARD TO LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, OPENING OF THE EMBASSIES, ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OR WHAT HAVE YOU. THERE IS NO LINKAGE AT ALL. NO PACKAGE DEAL.

QUESTION: IT WOULD APPEAR THERE WAS GUIDANCE IN PARIS OTHERWISE FROM THE STORIES IN THE PAPERS TODAY, AND THERE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 204558

WAS ALSO SOME GUIDANCE AROUND HERE LAST WEEK OTHERWISE.

ANSWER: WELL, I CAN SAY THERE IS NO KIND OF A PACKAGE DEAL WITH REGARD TO THE EMBARGO QUESTION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL RELATIONS, HENRY.

2. IN REGARD TO THE LAST POINT, THE PRESS OFFICE ISSUED THE FOLLOWING CORRECTION TO THE TRANSCRIPT LATER IN THE DAY: "WE HAVE INDICATED TO THE VIETNAMESE THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO REMOVE OUR PRESENT EMBARGO ON TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR COUNTRY AS SOON AS EMBASSIES IN OUR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED."  
CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, PRESS CONFERENCES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 07-May-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE104558  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EA/VLC:TMCARNEY/FMLC  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770316-1221  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t197705110/baaaevwb.tel  
**Line Count:** 299  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 00a86088-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN EA  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 07-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2345109  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** US-VIETNAM RELATIONS: DEPT. SPOKESMAN'S REMARKS F- 1. FOLLOWING ARE VIETNAM EXCERPTS FROM THE NOON BRIEF- ING MAY 5.  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PGOV, US, VN, VM  
**To:** PARIS INFO VIENTIANE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/00a86088-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009